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778 554 [784] personal prefix; kakrán, unripe; kra, people). This term does not suggest social immaturity, but brings out the point that the mekakránkra may eat unripe fruit while for the hąmrén all that is not completely mature is taboo. Further, a hąmrén never eats of the first part of a crop lest he be attacked by snakes or other venomous beasts. A hąmrén who should taste of a green gourd would be afflicted with wounds on his body; in gathering honey he must not eat it directly from the bees' nest, but must first put it on a gourd bowl, otherwise he would be likely to get injured by stepping on the stump of a tree. He would incur the same risk if he were to carve implements, such as clubs or arrowheads, from pau roxo wood in the plaza, where men frequently work manually during the meetings held there. The "unripe people" are immune to such perils.

Because of the above-mentioned confusion of the words hąmrén and tamhą'k I am not clear how many of the numerous restrictions which hedge in the King Vultures apply to the whole order. In any case the taboos listed suggest that a hąmrén is invested with a superior bodily sensitiveness.

778 554 766 Formerly all the hąmrén had a distinctive mode of burial, a custom only partly maintained at present. Properly, the corpse of a hąmrén (and none other) has falcon down glued on it; and the interment takes place not behind the deceased person's maternal home, but in front of it, on the inner margin of the boulevard. Finally, secondary burial was confined to this order, though conceivably this was once the rule for all, but persisted for the hąmrén when it had long lapsed for the rest of the people.

778 554 171 Outside the Canella I have encountered nothing at all suggestive of this hąmrén institution except among the Kaingang in the Rio Ivahy district (state of Paraná). Here there are at least three classes (p. 82 f.)—paí, votóro, and péñye, the first ranking highest (cf. Guarani: paí, a person of prestige) and comprising the chiefs. It enjoys ceremonial prerogatives, such as sitting on a white caraguatá blanket; and is credited with peculiar sensitiveness to noxious influences. For that reason, the chief Vegmõ' told me, he had bestowed on his naturally feeble son a péñye rather than a paí name. These classes have distinctive duties in the cult of the dead. A father may assign his child to whatever class he pleases, its affiliation being symbolized by the name it bears. Unfortunately my data are very imperfect. According to Hoerhan, the Botocudo of Santa Catharina—closely related to the Kaingang, though not identical with them—have some comparable institution (p. 83).

Of the first four of my hąmrén categories, the chiefs are best considered under the head of Government, the others in connection with the discussion of ceremonialism.

794 As for the King Vultures, I at first mistook them for an ordinary men's society, for at certain dances and log races their behavior hardly differs from that of the Ducks or Falcons. But soon I recognized them as a wholly distinct type of unit, seeing that they are *ipso facto* hąmrén, in fact, form the bulk of the order. Further, while the societies figure ceremonially only at certain definite festive periods and in a markedly dramatic fashion, the King Vultures have permanent functions of pronouncedly magical and social significance. Finally, they are without girl associates.

794 825 The word tamhą'k is a synonym for kukriti (king vulture [*Gypagus papa*]), with whom the members claim kinship, designating him as kedti (maternal uncle). However, they do not in any way worship or revere this bird, nor do they make ceremonial use of its feathers or parts of its body. As the king vulture makes food available to the ordinary black vultures (by tearing open the carrion against which their weak bills are impotent), so a King Vulture feeds others.

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851 upon the age class trotted toward Patkwę'ī's house, humming "like humming
846 birds," and there a whole meat pie was distributed among them. Meanwhile Patkwę'ī's husband had also abandoned the partitioned space of seclusion, put on his earplugs once more, and had himself painted with urucú. When the rópkamra still humming as before, ran back, one of the oldest Indians came to meet them dancing, howling like a steppe fox, and bashfully slinking from one side to another. As a steppe fox always visits an abandoned camp site in search of food remnants, so the old man was looking for the residue at Patkwę'ī's house.

A ceremony of such complexity, however, takes place only when the first child is born. On the same day another woman, who had already given birth to a number of children, was discharged from her retreat. All she did was to send a meat pie via her brother to the council assembled in the plaza.

851 When Kapẽrtụk's wife had been delivered of a little girl, his sister, Mĩkwę'ī,
[551] took her in her arms and carried her to the aunt's matrilineal home, thereby indicating that she would transfer her names to the infant. Then Kapẽrtụk's aunt
846 Mĩkwę'ī's maternal uncle went to hunt a deer, which he turned over to his niece. The meat she prepared was partaken of by all the inmates of the matrilineal home of Kapẽrtụk's wife, except herself and her husband. Unprepared slices of this game must not be distributed in other dwellings lest the hunter lose his luck, growing lazy and sleepy (čukaká). For the same reason he must not throw his booty on the floor when he gets home, but must deposit it with caution.

[825] After his seclusion an infant's father goes on a hunting trip in order to kill an anteater of the smaller species (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), which is said to "rear its children like a human being" by carrying them around on its back.

852 As soon as the child has its change of hair, the furrow is cut round its head.
604 Not until the close of seclusion does the mother indulge in domestic chores, and even then only in part because during the first months she hardly lets go of her infant. In leaving the house she turns it over to her own mother or another female housemate. A little girl is likely to spend considerable time at a paternal aunt's—even if she should not be the one from whom she acquires her names. This bond between little girls and their paternal aunts often is of great intimacy, being even more striking than the corresponding tie between a boy and his maternal uncle, which manifests itself later and especially in ceremonial. This uncle certainly pays no attention to a nursling's care.

853 So long as the mother maintains continence, the child is supposed to grow apace.
856 For this reason many women abstain from marital congress for months, allowing the hair around their temples to grow, but immediately clipping it after the first postnatal cohabitation. This obligatory continence is by no means to every husband's taste, and a fantastic tale of suicide—relegated, it is true, to the days of
[762] long ago—is told. On the plea that their child was still too small a woman denied her husband access for many months. He had himself, as well as the nephew to whom he had transferred his names, decorated and took the boy into the steppe. There he pretended to hunt falcons, kindled a fire around himself and the boy, causing both to perish.

INFANCY

853 The nursing period lasts about two years. The mother gives suck as often as the child desires it, kinswomen being glad to help so far as they are able. The mother teaches her child to eat cooked food by chewing it and then placing it in the infant's mouth.

854 As soon as the child is able to sit, the mother carries it straddling her left hip

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During the entire festival the Clowns sing pepkahą'k songs every evening, in memory of the pepkahą'k festival, at which they also play a great part (p. 221 ff.).

The Fish Otters wear forehead bands of cotton string. From these ornaments two arara tail feathers hang down the back by long cords; almost reaching the ground, they form the tẽ'reyapį', that is, fish-otter tail. These feathers, nowadays very valuable because the arara is virtually extinct, have a long history. In 1934 they formed the age-class leaders' occipital ornament at ketúaye. After the close of this initiation they were made over into an ornament called hąkyará, which goes around the forehead and down the back; the council allots it as a distinction to the best precentor in the village. This man danced and sang with it for two years, then he gave it to the Fish Otters for use as a head ornament in tepyarkwá. At the close of this festival the headbands of the tẽ're fell to the Clowns' share, and by the council's orders the feathers were to be worked over to ornament a ceremonial lance (krowačwa), to be awarded to Pąčet, head of the Clowns, in recognition of his achievements at the tepyarkwá.

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Close.—When the council feels that these performances have lasted long enough, they set a date for terminating the festival. Game is hunted and vegetable produce brought from the farms. With these materials fish-shaped meat pies are made in the maternal homes of the Fish membership: the lumps are put into a mold of cipó (*Paullinia pinnata* L.) in fish form and burity bast fins are fastened on.

In the meantime the Clowns have erected a camp in the woods by a brook, where they set up palm-leaf fronds as a "weir" and shape hooked implements of forked branches to represent the necks, heads, and bills of aquatic birds. One Clown enters the village to learn whether the pies are ready. He receives in every house a slice of flesh, which he ties to a pole and carries into his society's camp.

In the evening the Fish sing in the plaza to the shaking of rattles, after which they disperse to their six huts.

The following morning the Clowns disguise themselves in their camp in every possible way: they paint themselves grotesquely, clip their hair in part or altogether, or cut themselves two or three hair furrows, one above the other. With the long tufts clipped from the heads of youths they artificially lengthen their girl associates' hair. Thus they enter the village in the afternoon, camping and singing by a fireplace in the plaza. Now falcon down is glued on their girls' bodies. The Clowns bring their wooden bird heads and palm fronds to the plaza, where they quickly dig a circle of holes in the ground to plant the fronds, thus completing the weir. A good runner specially appointed by the council assumes the role of the jejú (kutápti). He is the first of all the Fish to enter his maternal home, receive the fish-shaped meat pie, take it under his arm, and run to the plaza, past the Clowns, and into the weir. Soon he steps out of it again and summons the other Fish, who now similarly fetch their pies from their maternal homes. They enter the weir with them, form a line that faces east and sing.

Meanwhile the Clowns pretend to crush the fish-drugging cipó. The Fish extend their pies toward them, the Clown girls enter first and seize one pie, whereupon all the Clowns try to possess themselves of the rest by attempting to spit them on the beaks of their bird heads. But the Fish break through the weir and try to escape with their pies.

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About ten Piranhas (apą'n; *Serrasalmo* sp.) are gathered in a northwest house, armed with bush-knives, and try to chop up the heron heads with which the Clowns attack and drive them out. At last the two Clown girls are the first to seize two Piranhas and rob them of their pies. Immediately the Clowns rush against the

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others, attempting to impale the pies on their beaks, while the Piranhas try to escape.

Five or six acangapáras (kapranpéyre, turtle; *Platemis* sp.) lie down on the plaza, face down, with their heads resting on their arms. They are supposed to be lying on their "eggs," represented by all manner of field fruits. The Clowns peek at the acangapáras with their wooden beaks, while the latter pelt their assailants with sand. At last the Clowns chase them away, and seize the "eggs."

Now the Stingrays (čenčétre; *Trygon* sp.) come out of their hut in the southeast of the plaza, some carrying in a mat wrapper a round meat pie in stingray shape, while others protect themselves against the attacking Clowns with pointed wands, their "stings." Finally, the Clowns succeed in impaling the pie, which the Stingrays abandon, and carry the pie to their meeting house.

Next figure the members of the čẽ'pre plaza group, whose hut is in the middle of the east side, next to that of the čõdn. They come out of the hut with a long pie within a plaitwork of palm leaves; it represents a sucuriju (roti; anaconda). They march around the plaza with it and try to get back to their hut, but are attacked by the Clowns, who impale and capture the pie as their loot.

Then two Indians, holding long staffs, which are painted black below and red above, step out of the Fish lodge as Suassuapáras (pokahą'k, swamp deer; *Cervus paludosus*). They put their meat pies on the space in front of the lodge and take up places with their rods beside the pies. But as soon as they catch sight of the Clowns turning toward them, they carry the pies back indoors. However, at last the Clowns burst into the house and seize them.

Then two members of any plaza group whatsoever appear as Capybaras (kumtúm; *Hydrochoerus cabibara*). They deposit their pie in a house on the west side of the village circle, where the Clowns capture it.

Three Jacaré (mĩ; *Caiman niger*) follow, bringing a pie from a particular house on the east side. Always directed by Koipóro, they march toward the plaza, but are attacked by the Clowns en route and robbed of their pie.

Then, a single Indian, carrying a gourd bottle with water, impersonates a Skunk (pĩké; *Mephitis suffocans*). He goes to the plaza, where the two Clown girls, barking like dogs, make him stand at bay. He defends himself by splashing them with water, and they flee, howling like dogs hit by the skunk's secretion. But finally the Clowns "kill" him, too.

Finally, three Indians and several girls act as Crabs (pái; *Cancer uça?*). Holding nuts of the babassu (*Orbignia speciosa*) in their hands, they strike them against each other. They come out of the Clowns' meeting house, but are overtaken on their way to the plaza and despoiled of their pie by the Clowns.

This ends the whole performance.

Variant.—There is another, simpler form of this festival. While in that described the plaza groups oppose the Clowns, and the eastern opposes the western plaza groups in all log races during the festive period, the simpler form substitutes the eastern and western *age classes*. In this case only two huts are erected in the plaza, that of the Ticks (tẽre; *Ixodes* sp.) on the east, and that of the Piranhas on the west side.